

Social Questions Bulletin

VOLUME 42

APRIL, 1952

NUMBER 4

NATIONAL M. F. S. A. 1952 MEMBERSHIP MEETING

Place

The Methodist Church, in beautiful Mill Valley, California, just across the Golden Gate from San Francisco.

Time

Sunday, April 20, 2:00 P.M., through Tuesday, April 22, mid-afternoon. (If possible, arrive in time for the 11:00 A.M. sermon by Bishop Francis J. McConnell).

Housing

Provided without charge by the host church for those whose registrations arrive in time.

Meals

To be served by the host church: Sunday evening, \$1.00; Monday Noon \$1.00; Monday night \$1.50; Tuesday noon \$1.00. Breakfast to be secured individually.

Program Emphases and Goals

- I. To end present war, and prevent World War III.
- II. To secure a peace serving economy.
- III. To save the Bill of Rights.
- IV. To attain inter-racial brotherhood.

Outstanding Leaders and Participants

Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Bishop John W. E. Bowen; Bishop Donald Harvey Tippett; Bishop Edward Parsons; Bishop Ralph Ward; Prof. George Collier, "The Social Gospel and the Bible"; Dr. Henry Hitt Crane; Dr. Martin Hall, lecturer for the American Friends Service Committee and author, authority on Europe; Dr. Edgar Love and others, "Methodism and the Race Question"; Rev. Stephen Fritchman, Mrs. Harry Bonaro Overstreet, and Dr. Willard Uphaus, "Our Imperiled Civil Liberties"; Dr. Dryden L. Phelps, just returned from China after thirty years of missionary service, who will participate with Bishop Ralph Ward on a panel on "Understanding and Living at Peace with China"; Dr. John Wilkins and others, "Growing Militarism in the U.S.); Dr. Loyd Worley. And others.

Also on the Agenda

Bishop and Mrs. Francis J. McConnell will be guests of honor at the reception Sunday evening, April 20.

Action will be taken on the report of the Nominating Committee, bearing on Federation officers and Committee members.

The National Committee, in conjunction with Executive Committee, will meet.

Voting privileges will be accorded all paid-up members of M.F.S.A. Please take this occasion to bring your own dues up to date.

Rich fellowship, worship, and discussion are anticipated. The membership Meeting will close with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Concentration in discussion will be on the things we should expect of the General Conference in the social field, together with what we as individual M.F.S.A. members and local chapters can do to implement our goals throughout the year and quadrennium ahead.

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence.

Issues for Discussion

What can we do to see that any prophetic and Gospel-rooted social stands taken by M.F.S.A. at Mill Valley, and by General Conference in San Francisco, do not remain merely paper stands? During the coming year what can we reasonably expect to ask our local chapters and members to do in serving the four goals and emphases of the Mill Valley meeting: Ending and preventing war, Saving democratic rights, Supporting racial equality and brotherhood, Securing an economy for peace and human service? How many sermons in each of these four problem areas, can we ask or expect during the coming year from our preachers? How many forums or group discussions in our local churches? To what extent can we ask or expect participation by our members in organizing or supporting in their localities during the coming year community-wide meetings on behalf of our four goals? What may we reasonably expect an individual member to do during the year in implementation of his citizenship responsibilities in serving these program goals (communication with Congressmen, the President, local or state officials, on behalf of needed government action)? How much will our membership and local groups do during the coming year to distribute literature on behalf of these goals from M.F.S.A. and others? On what specific points do our members locally most need factual information in order to serve these goals?

To Stop Present War and Prevent World War III

What do we ask or expect of the Methodist Church or the General Conference? What attitude shall we expect from the 1952 General Conference on the comprehensive statement adopted by the 1948 General Conference on the Church and War and Peace, (Discipline Section 2025)? How do we react to the M.F.S.A. memorial to General Conference on this (printed elsewhere in this Bulletin)?

Should we continue to urge multi-lateral disarmament as an alternative to current rearmament? What about the rearmament of Germany and Japan? What moral position should the Church take on weapons of mass annihilation: atomic, chemical, bacteriological? What of the position previously taken by M.F.S.A. and also by the last annual meeting of the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church—asking absolute outlawry of such weapons?

How do we react to the "Steps to Peace" advocated by the American Friends Service Committee? Or to the peace program formulated and adopted by the National M.F.S.A. Membership Meeting in Evanston (October 1951 Social Questions Bulletin)?

Where is the present danger of World War III? What proposals should we support for Peace with China? What can we ask the General Conference to say to reassure our fellow Methodists and fellow Christians in China as to our determination to work with them and with peace-loving peoples of both countries to help prevent further war and to reestablish traditional Chinese-American peace and friendship?

REGISTRATION BLANK M.F.S.A. MEMBERSHIP MEETING

April 20-22, 1952

The Methodist Church, Mill Valley, California

I will come and enclose my \$3.00 registration fee.

I also enclose \$..... to bring my paid membership up to date.

I want to be assigned housing in Mill Valley.

Though I cannot be present, I enclose a contribution of \$..... to help on meeting and M.F.S.A. expenses.

My advance suggestions and proposals for the meeting are enclosed.

(Any further needed details or materials on the meeting will be sent Registrants. This Registration form should be mailed immediately to: M.F.S.A., Room 402, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.)

Name.....

Address.....

To Secure a Peace Serving Economy

To what extent is our economy geared now to war or preparation for war (See December 1951 and January 1952 issues of the Bulletin for factual analysis and documentation)? What are the social and moral consequences of the present war economy? What is the warfare state or economy doing to the welfare state or economy? What shall MFSA, and what shall the Methodist Church through the General Conference, say about the morality of an economy which provides full production and employment only in and for the purposes of war or war preparation? What economic alternative do we, or should the General Conference, propose to production for war and destruction? Should we continue to urge a vast global reconstruction program (an international Point IV under the U.N.) as an alternative to the global arms race?

To Save the Bill of Rights

What shall Methodism, in line with its historic emphasis on freedom, do to assure that in the coming quadrennium there will be free expression, free conscience, and free assembly, for its pulpit, its ministers, its laymen, its lay women and its youth? What can Methodism through the General Conference do to save the currently threatened Bill of Rights, so precious to all Americans: Free expression and religion, free association and assembly, due process of law (right to reasonable bail, to trial by an unbiased jury of peers, to advance knowledge of charges, to adequate counsel and to confrontation and cross-examination of hostile witnesses), freedom from compulsory self-incrimination, presumption of innocence until guilt is established? How defend the rights of non-citizens now under attack; and preserve the concept and fact of America as a haven of refuge and equality? What can the church, and what can M.F.S.A., do to help end repressive legislation, such as the Smith and McCarran Acts? How prevent the coming of concentration camps for Americans—as provided by the McCarran Act, and as currently being built?

What can we in the church do to change the present atmosphere of fear and hysteria, and to offset the prejudices and hatreds directed against racial, religious and political minorities—which fan the flames of repression at home and of war abroad?

To Attain Interracial Brotherhood

To further the goal of interracial brotherhood, what do we ask of the Methodist Church and of the General Conference, and of ourselves? How do we react to the Charter of Racial Policies adopted by the Woman's Division of Christian Service and endorsed by M.F.S.A. (see the Charter as printed in the February Bulletin, and see account of M.F.S.A. action elsewhere in this issue)? How do we react to the Memorial to General Conference adopted for M.F.S.A. by the Evanston Membership Meeting (October, 1951 SQB)?

What steps would we have the Federal government take to assure constitutional rights for all, and to prevent violence against minorities? How do we react to the M.F.S.A. statement on the recent Florida violence (March 1952 Bulletin)?

How secure ratification by the U. S. Senate of the long standing U.N. Convention on Genocide (March 1952 Bulletin)?

New Aid to Propaganda Analysis on Way

Coming off the press soon is a completely revised 1952 edition of the M.F.S.A. basic booklet, "What Everybody Should Know About Propaganda, How and Why it Works", by Prof. Clyde R. Miller, outstanding authority in field of propaganda analysis and Chairman of the standing M.F.S.A. Commission on Propaganda Analysis. This fourth edition will be completely revised and rich with current examples and with much hitherto unpublished material—material with direct bearing on war or peace, and on democracy and its suppression.

Order your pre-publication copy now (\$.25 per copy; special rates for quantity orders.) You will get the first copies off the press. Here is a basic guide to the understanding of propagandas. Out of print for some time, it has been in great demand. Many schools, libraries and individuals will welcome the good news of the 1952 edition.

To M.F.S.A., Room 402, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.
Yes, I do want the revised 1952 edition of "What Everybody Should Know About Propaganda, How and Why it Works", and
I enclose \$..... for copies.
Name Address

Peace Memorial to General Conference

Under direction of the Executive and Administrative Committees the following Memorial has been formulated for the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Endorsements, and additional individual Methodist signatures are welcome.

We are taught to pray for the coming of God's kingdom on earth. Jesus taught that although God gives the Kingdom men may contribute to its coming by living as though it were here. Thus to live involves the personal embodiment of the characteristic values of the Christian faith and the advocacy of their enshrinement in all human institutions and procedures. This involves the formulation of the policies of nations and their procedures towards one another. Never more timely than now would be a reaffirmation of the total statement on the Church and War and Peace of the 1948 General Conference, Section 2025 of the *Discipline*, 1948.

In line with this point of view, The General Conference of The Methodist Church in 1948 declared, "Christianity cannot be nationalistic; it must be universal in its outlook and appeal." It is therefore the business of the Church, according to the declaration of this General Conference, "to witness with prophetic vigor to God's righteous love for all mankind and to support positive steps which give evidence of the reality of the Christian World Fellowship."

On the basis of this common faith and of these declarations of the General Conference of 1948, The Methodist Federation for Social Action (Unofficial) respectfully memorializes the General Conference of The Methodist Church, now in session to inaugurate for our Methodism a quadrennium whose prime emphasis shall be on a program designed to end the present war and to prevent World War III. Significant progress toward the erasing of the present threat of major destruction and toward the establishment of a just and lasting world-wide peace could be made by courageously and prayerfully utilizing the church's great organizational framework and its agencies of education and evangelism to promulgate and popularize study and action courses in such areas as (1) The United Nations; (2) Such current tensions at home and abroad as racial, religious, cultural, political misunderstandings; (3) Unrest due to vast inequalities that bring in their wake hunger, disease, exploitation; (4) Colonialism in its implications repudiated by Americans in their own war of Revolution; (5) The varying answers to the world's manifold problems, put forward by such sources as the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church, the Quakers, various non-governmental organizations and eminent individuals of many countries, and official spokesmen for the nations concerned in the tension areas; (6) The social implications of Christian Missions; (7) The implications of the Gospel for the reformation and evangelization of the United States of America herself.

Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska

The Administrative Committee at its last meeting asked Dr. Loyd Worley to draw up the following statement on statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, reiterating a former Federation stand.

The petition for full rights of Statehood by the territories of Alaska and Hawaii has been before the public long enough to resolve any doubts concerning the qualifications for adequate representation and self-government on the part of the citizens of these territories. It is a matter of keeping faith by the two political parties which made solemn promises in their platforms in 1948. It is a matter of basic civil rights for free citizens. We urge all members of the Federation to use their influence with Congress to the end that all citizens may exercise the full privileges of suffrage and representation.

Toward Racial Brotherhood

By vote of the Executive Committee of the M.F.S.A., the Federation has endorsed the Charter of Racial Policies of the Woman's Division of Christian Service (see February S.Q.B.) and calls upon all Methodist agencies to adopt and observe the democratic racial practices incorporated in this Charter (and consistently practiced also by M.F.S.A.). This has been expressed in a letter from Bishop McConnell to Mrs. Frank Brooks, President of the Woman's Division. We hope you, and your Methodist group, will take some action toward the same goal, and solicit your response to this M.F.S.A. action.

Please Return This To:

M.F.S.A., Room 402, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York
I endorse the Memorial to General Conference Yes No
I approve the action of the Ad Com. on Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska Yes No
I approve the Charter of Racial Policies Yes No
I enclose comments and/or special contribution Yes No

Name
Address

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The threat of war with China comes nearer. The Washington correspondent of the Cleveland Plain Dealer sees Truman becoming more favorable to sea and air attack because none of his aides can suggest a way to meet economic needs if war stops. In U.S. News Taft says there is no difference between fighting Chinese in Korea and bombing them in Manchuria. Dulles and Taft are widely quoted in favor of turning Chiang loose on the mainland with our weapons and advisers. Behind all this is the same motivation that aided counter-revolutionary efforts against the Soviet Union in its early days—the desire of the capitalist world to prevent the organization of socialist society.

There is less possibility of this succeeding now than then. It would mean World War III which the Allies have neither the material nor the moral resources to win. The two year record of New China shows nation wide achievements which some of our missionary effort sought with small groups—universal education; emancipation of women; emancipation from landlordism; development of scientific agriculture and industry; projects to end floods and drought, poverty and disease, beggary and prostitution; training in democratic decision and action. A measure of injustice and compulsion? Have we none here? Can we correct what is there by destructively delaying one of the greatest constructive changes in history? With our moral collapse and our inability to solve the economic problem?

Added to the proposed attacks on China is the danger of involvement through our aid to the French attempt to prevent independence in Indo-China. Also through the activities of the Chiang troops which escaped into Burma after they lost the civil war, and have crossed it again in attack and been driven out.

The threat of another war appears again in our policy of inciting counter-revolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Several incidents have recently made this policy an international concern. The most far reaching was an amendment to the Mutual Security Act by Charles F. Kersten of Wisconsin. This allocated \$100,000,000 for recruiting selected residents in, and fugitives from, the Soviet Union and its six satellites into the armed forces of NATO, "and for other purposes." The Soviet Union sent a protest note and raised the issue in the U.N. "Groundless" said the State Department; only "permissive", and the President wouldn't do it. Jessup added "as spurious as it is false." Neither mentioned "and for other purposes." Kersten however told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that by that he meant that the U.S. "when the time is opportune" should "assist the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to liberate themselves." "Observers" said it was clearly the intent of Congress to finance political activities inside the Soviet Union and they thought the public would support such activities.

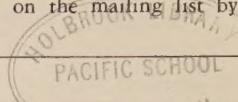
Then Kersten discovered on the U.N. agenda a code drawn by the International Law Commission making it an offense for authorities of a state to encourage or tolerate activities calculated to carry out "terroristic acts or stir up civil war" in another country. He wrote Warren Austin asking our delegation to get that off the agenda. They got discussion prevented and the code referred for a year for further consideration. In Kersten's extended remarks on this in the Congressional Record he says: "There must be strong action at the proper time," not excluding "terrorist action". The Catholic Weekly America, also against the code, said the terrorist refugees "proudly admit their guilt under this code."

Government policy is already working for what Kersten wanted, with Congress getting no accounting of funds spent for its most secret operations. Reston, diplomatic correspondent of the N. Y. Times, calls the inter-departmental Psychological Strategy Board which coordinates all "propaganda and cloak and dagger operations", "the DDT-Department of Dirty Tricks". Warning that our denials may destroy our reputation for truthfulness, he says: "The Russians know we are playing cops and robbers behind the Iron Curtain. So do all the satellites and our Allies. About the only people who do not know are the American people." . . . The Hungarian Government has released a 325 page White Book summarizing notes and protests to the U.S. since '46, listing six charges of U.S. participation in counter revolutionary activities in that country. Anthony Leviero of the Times defines our "black propaganda" as advocating "violence, planting false rumors, the manufacture and propaganda of scandals and other activities." Charles D. Jackson, President of the National Committee for a Free Europe says: "What we wanted was to create conditions of inner turmoil in the countries our broadcasts reached. Five nationally known preachers recently signed one of these jointly used with Voice of America."

All these activities incite civil war; and where can civil war be started without it spreading? It is time to declare judgment: on the criminality of attacking China; on the wickedness of inciting civil war. It is time to remember: "If this counsel or this work be of men it will be overthrown. But if it be of God ye will not be able to overthrow it."

H. F. W.

Because of the voluntary nature of the Federation's financing, it is impossible for us to afford to continue to send the Bulletin to non-supporters. By direction of the Administrative Committee we are being compelled reluctantly to drop friends from the mailing list who have not responded to earlier appeals for support, either by sending funds or by explanation. Won't you tell us now that you want to be kept on the mailing list by sending your contribution or word?



On War With China

Mr. Walter Lippmann, the well-informed conservative columnist, in the February 4, 1952 issue of the New York *Herald Tribune*, called on the government to "make it plain that its policy was not unconditional surrender and that it was prepared to negotiate a peace with Red China on all the issues of the Far East." Mr. Lippmann added: "There is not much doubt . . . that the great mass of the American people would support a policy which is so prudent, so reasonable, so fair—if only it were stated plainly to them. There is no great number of Americans who really want to go crusading in China, or to fight, if not a world war then at least a very much bigger war than the Korean, for the purpose of changing the government and the social order in China."

Ex-President Hoover on War Hysteria

Mr. Herbert Hoover in his January 27 radio and television address to the nation, speaking from the right of the present administration, gave this warning: "There is in Europe today no such public alarm as has been fanned up in the United States. None of those nations has declared emergencies or taken measures comparable with ours. They do not propagandize war fears or war psychosis such as we get out of Washington. Not one European country conducts such exercises in protection from bombs as we have had in New York. I recently made inquiry from European sources as to why . . . Their reasons were:

"First: . . . Russian armies could have overrun Europe any time in the past five years . . . they have not done so . . . Second: Communists hesitate to stir up a war in the West because they can see no final military victory. Russians know they cannot invade the United States with armies . . . Third: The Kremlin realizes invasion of Western Europe would add a dozen nationalities to the centrifugal forces and oppositions which already trouble them from the thirty-odd races they dominate . . . Fourth: The Kremlin knows industrial potential by invading Western Europe is mostly an illusion . . . if Europe were blockaded by the Americans or British, and Russian transport paralyzed by bombing . . . Western European industrial production would diminish rapidly and ultimately stop . . . Fifth: The Kremlin at last learned that its conspiracies of boring from within have failed to secure more than a minor percentage of men's minds in the Western world . . . Sixth: Opportunities for the Kremlin are in Asia. Its face is turned East, not West . . . Seventh: Stalin has every reason to be satisfied with the progress of economic confusion in the U.S. and in Western Europe . . . Eighth: Communists know that, if they invade Western Europe, their own war potential will be destroyed by an atomic war from the air, and a blockade from the sea, even if they succeed on land."

As for the turmoil in Asia and the Middle East, Mr. Hoover said: "In South Asia and the Middle East we are witnessing vast readjustments of political power. Behind the slogan, 'Asia for the Asiatics,' lie two centuries of the white man's exploitation. These forces have lighted a prairie fire of revolution against the West. They are removing the 'white man's burden'."

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METHODIST FEDERATION for SOCIAL ACTION
(Unofficial)

Executive Secretary and Editor—JACK R. McMICHAEL
President: Bishop Francis J. McConnell; Vice Presidents:
Bishop J. W. E. Bowen, Dr. Dillon W. Throckmorton, Rev.
Edgar Wahlberg; Recording Sec.: Rev. Sumpter M. Riley, Jr.;
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WE HEAR FROM OUR READERS

"Don't back down now to the so-called America first outfits. I still haven't gotten over the Epworth League being listed as subversive. When the time comes that we all have to think alike and watch our conversation we will be worse than if the communists did infiltrate somewhat into our civilization."

Tom Moore King, Diagonal, Iowa

"I approved the stands taken at the Evanston meeting, which I regret having missed. Reading papers like Socialist Call, The Progressive, Between the Lines, The Churchman, and our own excellent Bulletin. (December issue is tops). God bless and guide you in your great work, despite the 'Amalekites'."

A. W. Nagler, Evanston, Illinois

"The controversy stirred up by the local press in Chicago over your meeting here in Evanston has interested me in your organization. As a Methodist I am quite surprised to find that the usual fear of the press seemed to be lacking in this organization and . . . all the real issues reported at this conference seemed . . . truly indicative of a genuine concern for humanity . . . I should appreciate receiving information on the scope of your work and requirements for membership."

Warren W. Andrews, Chicago, Illinois

"Inclosed is my check for \$10 contribution to your good work. The last few Bulletins were exceptionally good. I think it would be a fine thing, if you could arrange to send bundle orders at low cost rates for members and sympathizers to distribute in their churches or communities."

(A grand idea, Bundle Orders are welcome.)

R. D. Tomlinson, Guymon, Oklahoma

"I am in agreement with the Evanston meeting program, very much so. One thing in particular I wish to mention and that is the lack of fear on the part of the Bulletin to speak out when so many have been silenced in this time of attempted thought control. It is difficult to say what the future holds, but the trends are dangerous ones and which adds that much more to the value of the work you are directing through the Bulletin and so forth."

Leland F. Fobes, Weaverville, N. C.

"I have always believed in the prophetic religion of Jesus and . . . I am still more interested in the Nazarene's directives than in blind orthodox worship. As long as so many pillars of the Church also support the anachronous way of life (or death) in which we now exist, how can we look to Christendom for Jesus' promise of Peace? This, in a sense, is the reason why the work of the MFSA has been of especial interest to me for the past several years. Its members seem to more fully understand the true meaning of Christian responsibility."

Edward Gourley, Santa Cruz, Calif.

"It is through my contact with *World Events* that I find, only this A.M., a copy of Social Questions Bulletin of November, 1951. I am enclosing a check for \$2 and would like eight copies of this Bulletin—November, if possible. Recently I had six copies of Wm. O. Douglas's 'Strange Lands and Friendly People' sent to six families of young people . . . I'll send after each Douglas book your Bulletin . . . I guess my chief sin is lack of charity for my friends who are more interested in antique glass or flower arrangements than in getting our men out of Korea."

Naomi A. Benson, Vancouver, Washington

"I am neither a communist or a politician or writing a book. I am an average citizen . . . paying taxes and buying groceries just as the great majority. I am not a member of any church but I am a Mason and a Shriner and I believe in God and I do attend church. But I do not believe in many of the men in high places nor that our present economic system is the 'only way of life'. Something is wrong—the man on the street knows it even though he cannot put his finger on it. I have read some of your literature and I would like to read all of it that you can send me so that I may be able to form my own opinion."

Mr. L. B. Brown, Opportunity, Wash.

"I just received a pamphlet from 'The Committee for the Preservation of Methodism' whose spawning ground is in Houston, Texas, and it made me so mad that I immediately wrote out the inclosed check to cool off my rage. How often must it be repeated that Jesus, the Jewish agitator and 'subverter' would be crucified over and over again by these vigilantes whose counterparts have existed in every age? Notwithstanding the Un-American Activities Committee, your Bulletin is in the best prophetic tradition."

Morley Wolfe, Ossining, N. Y.

IN DEFENSE OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Historic Supreme Court Dissents on New York's Feinberg Law. From Dissent of Mr. Justice Douglas (Mr. Justice Black Concurring):

"The Constitution guarantees freedom of thought and expression."

"The present law proceeds on a principle repugnant to our society—guilt by association. A teacher is disqualified because of her membership in an organization found to be 'subversive' in a proceeding to which the teacher is not a party."

"Any organization committed to a liberal cause, any group organized to revolt against an hysterical trend, any committee launched to sponsor an unpopular program becomes suspect."

"A teacher caught in that mesh is almost certain to stand condemned. She will tend to shrink from any association that stirs controversy. Freedom of expression becomes stifled."

"The law inevitably turns the school system into a spying project. Regular loyalty reports on the teachers must be made out. The principals become detectives; the students, the parents, the community become informers. Ears are cocked for tell-tale signs of disloyalty."

"The prejudices of the community come into play in searching out the disloyal. This is not the usual type of supervision which checks a teacher's competency; it searches for hidden meanings in a teacher's utterances."

"What was the significance of the reference of the art teacher to socialism? Why was the history teacher so hostile to Franco Spain? Who heard overtones of revolution in the English teacher's discussion of 'The Grapes of Wrath'? What was behind the praise of Soviet metallurgy in chemistry class? Was it not 'subversive' for the teacher to cast doubt on the wisdom of the venture in Korea?"

"What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state."

"A problem can no longer be pursued with impunity to its edges. Fear stalks the classroom. The teacher is no longer a stimulant to adventurous thinking; she becomes instead a pipeline for safe and sound information."

"A deadening dogma takes the place of free inquiry. Instruction tends to become sterile. Pursuit of knowledge is discouraged; dis-cussion often leaves off where it should begin."

"This happens when a censor looks over a teacher's shoulder. This system of spying and surveillance with its accompanying reports and trials cannot go hand in hand with academic freedom. It produces standardized thought, not the pursuit of truth."

"A system which has that effect is a real threat to our way of life. We need be bold and adventuresome in our thinking to survive."

"So long as the teacher is a law abiding citizen and her performance within the public school system meets professional standards, her private life, her political philosophy, her social creed should not be the cause of reprisals against her."

By Mr. Justice Black:

"This is another of those rapidly multiplying enactments which make it dangerous—this time for school teachers—to think or say anything except what a transient majority happen to approve."

"Basically these laws rest on the belief that government should supervise and limit the flow of ideas into the minds of men . . . mold people into a common intellectual pattern."

"Public officials cannot be constitutionally invested with the powers to select the ideas people can think about, censor the public views they can express, or choose the persons or groups people can associate with. Public officials with such powers are not public servants; they are public masters."

Five Theses by Martin Niemoller

1. We have to affirm that the Gospel does not allow us the division, usual in public and private life, into two spheres in one of which the word of God is ruling, in the other one the law of reality.

2. The Christian revelation is opposed to every glorification of war. It is opposed to the dogma of "the supreme necessity of war."

3. The preaching of the Gospel cannot accept the opposition between East and West being reduced to the over-simplified formula: here light, there darkness, here Christian world, there anti-Christ, and that therefore a warlike conflict with the East can be dressed up as a crusade. It must disclose that support for Western civilization and economic order is not identical with a decision for Christ, and that behind the Christian facade of our Western world and way of life, injustice is hidden.

4. In view of the problematic character of war generally and particularly of present-day war, the Christian community will insist that he who refuses war service is not to be treated as a criminal but to be protected.

5. The preacher of the Gospel is called upon to oppose the fear of war which precisely today dominates to a large extent the thoughts and actions of men. Faced with a possible consciously directed anxiety psychosis which may become an acute war danger, the Christian Gospel testifies that we put our faith not in armaments but in the Lord, and that we must not fear.